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THUCYDIDES 1.27.1

Kορινθίας μένειν

At the time of the disagreement between Coreyra and Epidamnus, which was the spark that kindled the Peloponnesian War, Corinth espoused the cause of Epidamnus and proclaimed the sending of colonists to Epidamnus. It was provided that, if any one did not wish to sail with the first contingent of colonists, he might deposit fifty *drachmae* as an earnest of his intention to sail later, and thus be excused from sailing with the first group. Such very plainly is the meaning of the words of Thucydides (1.27.1): *εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραντίκα μὲν μὴ θέλει ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποκίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα Κορινθίας μένειν . . .*

The notes of the editors on this passage show an unusual sameness. *Kορινθίας* seems to have caused difficulty. The editors were all minded to regard the word as an adjective, to be joined with *δραχμὰς*. But, they asked, why should it be specified expressly that a man in Corinth, making a payment in Corinth, must pay in Corinthian *drachmae*? Corinthian coinage was, we know, plentiful. What other coinage would a Corinthian use? So the editors felt obliged to write a note on *Kορινθίας*. Classen's¹ note may be cited as typical: "In Korinth zerfiel der silberne *στατήρ* . . . , welcher nahezu den Wert eines attischen Didrachmon hatte, in drei Drachmen . . ." It never seemed to occur to the mind of man that *Kορινθίας* is a noun, in the partitive genitive, denoting place, and meaning 'in Corinthian territory'.

It is clear that the three decisive words in the passage quoted above are *δραχμὰς*, *μένειν*, and *Kορινθίας*. We may discuss them in that order.

Does Thucydides elsewhere, without reason, specify the kind of coinage?

The pertinent passages are the following: 3.17.3 *τὴν τε γὰρ Ποτείδειαν δίδραχμοι ὀπλῖται ἐφρούρουν* (ἀντῷ γὰρ καὶ ὑπηρέτη *δραχμὴν ἐλάμβανε τῆς ἡμέρας*) . . . ; 5.63.2 (said of Agis, after he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity to overpower Argos) . . . *ἐβούλευν εὐθὺς ὑπ’ ὅργῆς . . . τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαι καὶ δέκα μυριάσι*

δραχμῶν ζημιῶσαι . . . ; 6.31.3 (said of Athens and the Sicilian Expedition) . . . *τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν μεγάλαις δαπάναις τῶν τε τριηράρχων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπονηθέν, τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναύτῃ ἐκάστω διδόντος . . . ; 7.27.2* (said of the pay of the Thracian peltasts who reached Athens too late to sail with Demosthenes to Sicily) *τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας πόλεμον αὐτοὺς πολυτελές ἐφαίνετο· δραχμὴν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ἕκαστος ἐλάμβανεν . . .*

In none of these passages is there any specification of the *kind* of *drachmae*. The list could be increased several hundred times by citations from other authors and (especially) from inscriptions, e.g. *Inscriptions Graecae* 5.2.3, lines 21–23²: *εἴκ < =εἰ> ἐπὶ δῶμα πῦρ ἐποίει, δυόδεκο δραχμὰς ὀφλέν, τὸ μὲν ἔμισυ ταῦ θεοῖ, τὸ δ’ ἔμισυ τοῖς ιερ[ο]μάναμοντι.*

In two passages Thucydides, for very good reasons, specifies the standard of coinage.

The first is 5.47.6, a copy of the treaty³ between Athens, Argos, Mantinea, and Elis: *ἡν δὲ πλέονα βούλωνται χρόνον τῇ στρατᾷ χρῆσθαι, η̄ πόλις η̄ μεταπεμψαμένη διδότω σῖτον, τῷ μὲν ὀπλίτῃ καὶ ψιλῷ καὶ τοξότῃ τρεῖς ὀβολοὺς Λιγυναῖος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης, τῷ δ’ ἵππει δραχμὴν Αιγυναῖαν*. Since we have here an international treaty, it is natural that the standard of payment should be prescribed; some concession, perhaps, was made to the members of the alliance in the Peloponnesus.

The other passage is 8.29.1 (Tissaphernes fulfills his promise of *τροφή* for the Peloponnesian fleet): . . . *ὁ Τισσαφέρνης . . . μηνὸς μὲν τροφήν, ωσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκάστω πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε . . .* Why does Thucydides use 'Αττικὴν here? The reason would be quite obscure, or even wholly unknown, were it not for an interesting inscription⁴, about ten years earlier in date, in which it is recorded that the Athenians decreed that all the members of the Delian League should use

¹Berlin, Reimer, 1913.—This inscription is Number 654 in Edouard Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecorum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1923). Schwyzer's work is the third edition of a work twice edited by Paul Cauer. Some peculiarities of language in this inscription are discussed by Professor Carl Darling Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, 134, 2 a, page 98 (Ginn, 1928).

²For this inscription see *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* 4.46 b = *Inscriptions Graecae* 1², 86, and Marcus N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Number 72, pages 175–178 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933).

³See Tod (as in note 3, above), Number 67, pages 163–166.

⁴See J. Classen, Thucydides, in the fourth edition, by J. Steup (Berlin, Weidmann, 1897).

the Attic standard of coinage, measures, and weights, and that all 'foreign' coins were to be turned in and exchanged for coinage of the Attic standard. Heralds were to be sent to give immediate notice of this action, ἔνα μὲν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίᾳ, ἔνα δὲ ἐπὶ Νήσους, ἔνα δὲ ἐπὶ Ἐλλήσποντον, ἔνα δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης . . . If this was done, and there can be little doubt that it was done, it is quite certain that Tissaphernes could not have got hold of any coins except those of the Attic standard with which to pay the sailors of the Peloponnesian fleet. Thucydides, with his customary accuracy as to details, makes a note of this fact. There is something dramatic, too—and ironic—in the picture of the Peloponnesian allies being obliged to accept payment in the coinage of their foes.

It is clear, then, that in 1.27.1 Thucydides had no occasion to specify Corinthian *drachmae*, and did not do so.

Does Thucydides use *μένω* without specification or limitation, as the editors think he does in 1.27.1?

The transitive uses of *μένω* need not detain us long. Examples of this use are recorded here briefly, only for the sake of completeness: 8.78 *ταῦς μένοντες* . . . ; 4.124.4 *τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς μένοντες* . . . ; 5.10.5 . . . Oi ἄνδρες ἡμᾶς οὐ μένουσιν . . . οὐκ εἰώθασι μένειν τοὺς ἐπιόντας . . . Compare also 1.142.1 *τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί*, where we have the adjective *μενετοί* with a defining (objective) genitive.

There are three instances of *μένω* with *ἔως*: 3.97.1 *ἐκέλευνον . . . μὴ μένειν ἔως ἀν̄ ξύμπαντες . . . ἀντιτάξωται . . .*; 5.35.4 *μένοντες ἔως σφίσι . . . ποιήσειαν τὰ εἰρημένα . . .*; 6.77.2 *ἡ μένομεν ἔως ἀν̄ ἔκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν . . . ?*

Very common is *κατὰ χώραν μένω*, sometimes with additional limitation, such as a dative with *ἐν*. The examples, abridged as much as possible, are: 1.28.5 *μένειν κατὰ χώραν . . .*; 2.58.3 *κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐποιόρκουν τὴν Ποτείδειαν*; 3.22.6 *κατὰ χώραν μένοντες*; 4.14.5 *ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ*; 4.26.1 *τὸ . . . στρατόπεδον . . . κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν . . .*; 4.76.5 *ῃλπίζον . . . οὐ μενεῖν κατὰ χώραν τὰ πράγματα . . .*; 7.49.4 *κατὰ χώραν ἔμενον*; 8.71.3 *κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἔμενον . . .*; 8.86.3 *ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν ἔκαστοι κατὰ χώραν μένοντιν*.

Frequent also is limitation by an adverbial phrase. The most common phrase of this sort involves the dative with *ἐν*. The instances are: 1.62.3 *ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν . . .*; 2.57.2 *τῇ δὲ ἑσβολῇ ταῦτη πλεῖστον τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν <ἔμειναν?>* καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον . . . ; 4.6.2 *ἡμέρας γάρ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ*; 6.34.4 *χαλεπὸν δὲ διὰ πλοῦ μῆκος ἐν τάξει μείναι . . .*; 7.49.3 *οὐδὲν τρόπῳ οἱ ἔφη ἀρέσκειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι μένειν . . .*; 8.30.2 *οἱ*

δὲ ἄλλοι, ἐν Σάμῳ μένοντες . . . ; 8.71.3 καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῇ Δεκελείᾳ ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἐπελθόντας ὀλίγας τινὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ γῇ μείναντας ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπ' οἴκου . . . ; 8.72.2 *δείσαντες μὴ . . . ναυτικὸς δύχλος οὔτ' αὐτὸς μένειν ἐν τῷ ὀλιγαρχικῷ κόσμῳ θέλῃ . . .*; 8.99 ad finem *καταίρει* ἐς τὴν Ἰκαρον, καὶ μείνας ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας πέντε ἡ ἔξη ἡμέρας . . . ; 2.20.1 *λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περὶ τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς . . . μείναι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον . . . οὐ καταβῆναι . . .*; 2.89.9 *ὑμεῖς δὲ εὕτακτοι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες . . .*; 3.96.2 *<Δημοσθένης> . . . αἱρεῖ . . . Τείχιον, ἔμενέ τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν λείαν . . . ἐς Εὐπάλιον . . . ἀπέπεμψεν . . .*; 4.100.4 *φλόγα ἐποίει μεγάλην καὶ ἥψε τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε μηδένα ἔτι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μείναι, ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας ἐς φυγὴν καταστῆναι . . .*; 4.105.2 *τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἵσης καὶ ὅμοιας μετέχοντα μένειν . . .*; 4.118.4 *Τάδε δὲ ἔδοξε . . . ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν μένειν ἐκατέρους . . . , τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Κορυφασίῳ ἐντὸς τῆς Βουφράδος καὶ τοῦ Τομέως μένοντας . . .*; 5.65.5 καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μείνας αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ ὑδωρ ἔξετρεπεν . . .

The accusative of duration of time is also found as a limitation of *μένω*, either alone, or combined with other limiting words. Instances of this have been seen in some of the preceding quotations. The remaining examples are as follows: 7.50.4 (of Nicias at Syracuse, when ἡ σελήνη ἐκλείπει) *οὐδὲ ἀν διαβουλέυσασθαι ἔτι ἔφη πρὶν . . . τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μείναι . . .*; 2.101.6 καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, . . . ἀνεχώρησε . . . ἐπ' οἴκον . . . ; 8.28.1 Oi δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι . . . μείναντες ἡμέραν μίαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ . . . ἐβούλοντο . . . πλεῦσαι . . . ; 6.74.2 *ἡμέρας δὲ μείναντες περὶ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . .*

The use of *μένω* in the sense of 'abide', 'stand one's ground', is familiar from early Greek literature onward; in this use *μένω* is often found contrasted with *φεύγω*. Thucydides seems inclined to use as antonyms to *μένω* words like *ὑποχωρῶ* or *ἀπειμι*, which are more suitable in describing military operations. The examples are: 4.10.5 . . . ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς, 'Αθηναῖοι ὄντας . . . , καὶ αὐτοὺς νῦν μείναι τε καὶ . . . σώζειν ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ χωρίον'; 4.10.2 *ἔγω δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα ὄρω πρὸς ἡμῶν ὄντα ἦν ἐθέλωμεν . . . μείναι . . .*; 4.10.3 *μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν <τὸ δυσέμβατον> ξύμμαχον γίγνεται, ὑποχωρήσασι δὲ . . . εὐπορὸν ἔσται μηδενὸς κωλύοντος . . .*; 4.12.2 *τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων . . .*; 5.9.6 *ἔως . . . τοῦ ὑπαπίέναι πλέον ἦ τοῦ μένοντος . . . τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν . . .*; 7.47.3 *τῷ οὖν Δημοσθένει οὐκ ἐδόκει ἔτι χρῆναι μένειν, ἀλλ' . . . ἀπιέναι ἐψηφίζετο καὶ μὴ διατρίβειν . . .*; 6.18.5 *τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλές, καὶ μένειν, ἦν τι προχωρῆ, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν, αἱ νῆσες παρέξουσιν . . .*; 5.10.8-9 *τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν . . . ἔμενε μᾶλλον . . .*

Κλέων, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διανοεῖτο μένειν, . . . εὐθὺς φεύγων . . . : 5.73.4 οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . χρονίους τὰς μάχας καὶ βεβαιούς τῷ μένειν ποιοῦνται . . .

Three examples of what is essentially the same usage are not so patent at first sight, but they also belong here: 1.65.1 Ἀριστεὺς . . . ξυνεβούλευε . . . τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλεῦσαι . . . καὶ αὐτὸς ἥθελε τῶν μενόντων εἶναι . . . (here μενόντων is contrasted with ἐκπλεῦσαι [i.e. φυγέειν]: Aristeus was willing to stand his ground in Poteidaea and defend the city); 3.33.2 μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγένετο μὴ . . . εἰ καὶ . . . μὴ διενοοῦντο μένειν πορθῶσιν ἀμά προσπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις . . . (here we have μένειν of military activities; the antonym would be ἐκπλεῦσαι or ἀποπλεῦσαι, as in the preceding example); 3.75.1 ξύμβασίν τε ἔπρασσε καὶ πείθει ὥστε ἔνγχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους κρίναται, οὐ οὐκέτι ἔμειναν . . . , that is to say, the men did not stand their ground or await their trial, but made their escape before that: the sense is οὐκέτι ἔμειναν <τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον>.

In Plato, Crito we find the same contrast between παραμένω and words like ἀποδημῶ.

Sometimes μένω has the sense of 'stay in place', 'hold firm'. This meaning of μένω is, of course, in fact the same as the meaning seen in the examples listed above. The slight shift in the English translation is due merely to the Greek context. The examples are: 2.84.2 ἥλπις εἰ γὰρ αὐτῶν <= τῶν πολεμίων> οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν . . . ἀλλὰ ξυμπεσεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς ναῦς . . . <καὶ> οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυχάσειν αὐτούς (Phormio expected that the rising wind would make it impossible for the enemy to keep their ships in the close array in which they had been, at the outset, purposely drawn up); 5.40.2 ἐλπίζοντες . . . , εἰ μὴ μείνειαν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπουδαῖς, τοῖς γοῦν Ἀθηναῖοις ξύμμαχοι ἔσεσθαι . . . ; 1.71.6 βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενοῦμεν· οὐτε γὰρ ὅσια ἀν ποιοῦμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι. . . (the Corinthians declare their willingness, under proper conditions, to abide in the Spartan alliance, and to refrain from seeking allies elsewhere).

In Thucydides there are three instances of the use of the participle of μένω (in the military sense of κατὰ χώραν μένω) in connection with another verb of military meaning: 8.96.4 ἦ διέστησαν ἀν ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν ἐφορμοῦντες ἦ, εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν μένοντες, . . . τὰς ἀπ' Ιωνίας ναῦς ἡνάγκασαν ἀν . . . βοηθῆσαι . . . ; 6.34.5 ἦ μένοντες πολιορκοῦντο ἀν ἦ πειρώμενοι παραπλεῖν τὴν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπολεῖτοιν ἀν . . . ; 3.109.1 ἀπορῶν . . . ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἦ μένων πολιορκήσεται . . . ἦ καὶ ἀναχωρῶν διασωθήσεται . . .

It is clear from the preceding numerous quotations that, outside of 1.27.1, Thucydides

does not use the verb μένω without some limiting expression except in the military or quasi-military sense of 'stand firm', 'hold one's place'. This is certainly not the meaning in 1.27.1. It follows, therefore, that in 1.27.1 Thucydides does not use μένω without a limiting word.

The third word, *Kορινθίας*, requires but little comment. Thucydides very frequently uses the feminine singular of an adjective in -ιος to denote a town and its surrounding territory. This statement may be confirmed by a glance at an index verborum to Thucydides, and it will suffice here to record the occurrence, in this use, of *Kορινθία*. The examples are: 4.42.1 . . . Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐστράτευσαν . . . ; 4.45.1 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπλευσαν . . . ἐς Κρομμυῶνα τῆς Κορινθίας . . . ; 8.10.3 αὐτὸν καταδιώκουσιν ἐς Σπειραιὸν <Πειραιόν> τῆς Κορινθίας . . .

Finally, we may note that the partitive genitive of place is common in Greek. It is found frequently in poetry, not so frequently in prose, but, if a writer of prose had any need to use it, he used it. It has become crystallized in many adverbs like ποῦ and οὐδαμοῦ, and in expressions like δεξιᾶς and ἀριστερᾶς, 'on the right', 'on the left'. Familiar examples of its use are Homer, Iliad 9.218-219 αἰτός . . . ίζεν, . . . τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέροιο . . . ; Odyssey 21.107-109 οἴη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ, κατ' Αχαιΐδα γαίαν οὗτε Πύλου ιερῆς οὔτ' Ἀργεος, οὗτε Μυκήνης, οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὔτ' ἡπεριοιο μελαίνης; Aristophanes, Ranae 174 ὑπάγεθ' ὑμεῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ . . .

In prose, of course, the partitive genitive of place is usually made more specific by the addition of a preposition, but a writer of prose did not hesitate to employ the partitive genitive of place if he needed it. For example, in Plato, Symposium 182 Β τῆς δὲ Ιωνίας καὶ ἄλλοθι πολλαχοῦ αἰσχρὸν νενόμισται ὅσοι ὑπὸ βαρβάροις οἰκοῦσι . . . , Ιωνίας and πολλαχοῦ are both really partitive genitives of place.

Thucydides uses the partitive genitive of place with considerable frequency, but most of the genitives that, in my judgment, belong here are explained by the editors as dependent on some other word in the sentence. A few examples among many in Thucydides are: 1.36.2 <Coreyra> τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται . . . ; 1.100.3 προσελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θράκης <'advancing in Thrace'> ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν . . . ; 2.56.3 . . . Πελοποννησίους κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ . . . ; 1.114.2 οἱ Πελοποννησίοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Θριῶν ἐσβαλόντες . . . ('making an inroad in Attica as far as Eleusis and on toward the Thriasian Plain . . .'). Here τῆς Ἀττικῆς is usually explained as a genitive limiting Ἐλευσίνα, but Θριῶν suggests that it is a partitive genitive of place. But it is not worth while to argue about these instances, since an independ-

ent use of such a partitive genitive of place is found in Thucydides 5.83.4 *κατέκλησαν* . . . *Μακεδονίας* <'within the confines of Macedonia'> *Περδίκκαν* . . . Editors usually, against all manuscript authority, emend, needlessly, to *Μακεδόνας*.

It is absolutely certain, therefore, from Thucydides's use of the words *δραχμή*, *μέρων*, and *Κορινθίας*, that in 1.27.1 *Κορινθίας μένειν* means 'to stay in Corinthian territory'.

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ALEXANDER AND THE WINTER OF 330-329 B.C.

The correlation of the chronology of the expedition of Alexander the Great with the geographical position of the expedition from the beginning of 330 to the Spring of 327 has long presented great difficulties. Mr. W. W. Tarn¹ has shown very clearly that the winter of 329-328 was spent by the expedition at Zariaspa and that of 328-327 at Nautaca. Mr. Tarn does not believe that Alexander took winter quarters at all for 330-329.

Since Mr. Tarn's views are entirely in accord with Arrian's account², it is doubtful if anyone now would question them for the winters of 329-328 and 328-327. There is nothing in Arrian, however, which might serve as a definite clue to the place at which Alexander passed the winter of 330-329. Wilcken³ has suggested that Alexander's long detour to the south left little time for winter quarters, especially since Alexander is supposed to have crossed the Hindu Kush Mountains early in 329. Beloch⁴ and Kaerst⁵ place Alexander in winter quarters for 330-329 at the city of Alexandria, which he founded just south of the Hindu Kush, in the Koh Daman region. Mr. Hogarth⁶ believed that Alexander wintered in Seistan. Recently Professor C. A. Robinson, Jr.⁷ published his solution of this problem.

In order to allow Alexander to reach the Cabul valley by the middle of November, 330, and so to get conformity with the account of Strabo (15.2.10), Professor Robinson throws out the statement of Plutarch (Alexander 37) that Alexander allowed his army to rest for

¹W. W. Tarn, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 6.390-395 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1927).

²Arrian, *Anabasis* 4.7.1, 18.2.

³Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander der Grosse*, 147 (Berlin and Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1931). <For a review, by Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., of the English translation of this work, a translation made by G. C. Richards, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 26.191-192. C. K. >

⁴Julius Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3.2.319 (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1923).

⁵J. Kaerst, *Geschichte der Hellenismus*, 1.430 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1927).

⁶D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, 217 (London, Murray, 1897).

⁷Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr., *When did Alexander Reach the Hindu Kush?*, *The American Journal of Philology* 51 (1931), 22-31. This is reprinted on pages 74-81 of Professor Robinson's monograph, *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* (Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1932). <For a review, by Mr. Jones, of this monograph see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 28.118. C. K. >

four months at Persepolis, and that of Arrian (3.22.2) which places the murder of Darius in the Attic month of Hecatombaion. Professor Robinson maintains that Alexander left Persepolis in late March. This view automatically advances the death of Darius to about the first of May, as opposed to the accepted date (late July). This makes it possible for Professor Robinson to maintain that Alexander reached the foot of the Hindu Kush in December, and took up winter quarters there, in accordance with the statement of Strabo (15.2.10).

Careful examination of the evidence, however, will serve to render Professor Robinson's thesis untenable, for the following reasons.

(1) Mr. Hogarth, accepting Plutarch's statement that Alexander remained four months at Persepolis, computed that the death of Darius occurred about the three hundredth day after the Battle of Gaugamela (or Arbela)⁸. This would coincide with the date which Arrian gives—the month of Hecatombaion. Arrian (3.22.2) mentions also that Aristophon was then archon at Athens. Now in the preceding October, when the Battle of Gaugamela (or Arbela) was fought, Aristophanes was archon. This fact Arrian tells us in 3.15.7. Hence it follows that, if Darius had been murdered at any time previous to Hecatombaion, 330, the event must have fallen in the archonship of Aristophanes rather than in that of Aristophon.

(2) Then there is the matter of the reinforcements which Antipater sent from Greece^{9a} after the defeat of Agis, the Spartan king, in the Autumn of 331. These soldiers appear to have caught up with Alexander either just before the siege of Artacoana (Arrian 3.25.4), or immediately after it (Quintus Curtius 6.6.35). Arrian does not specifically state that the soldiers were sent by Antipater, but the similarity of his account with that of Curtius leads me to believe that both are speaking of the same body of troops⁹. Had Alexander left

⁸Hogarth, 280 (see note 6, above).

^{9a}Antipater sent soldiers who had participated in the campaign against Agis which ended at Megalopolis. After the campaign ended, these soldiers, I believe, returned with Antipater to Macedonia. Later, after it appeared that all was quiet in the Peloponnesus, they were forwarded to Alexander. However, whether they sailed from Greece to Asia Minor or came from Macedonia across the Hellespont, they could not have reached Alexander at Artacoana before October.

⁹Compare Arrian 3.25.4. 'Αλέξανδρος δὲ ὄμοῦ ἦδη ἔχων τὴν πάσαν δύναμιν ἦε ἐπὶ Βάκτρων, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος ὁ Μεγαλάνων πάρ' αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ Μηδίας, ἔχων τοὺς τε μισθοφόρους ιππέας ὃν γῆται αὐτός, καὶ θεσσαλῶν τοὺς ἑθελοντάς ὑπομεναντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχουν; Curtius (6.6.35) Ab hac urbe <=Artacoana> dixisse supplementum novorum militum occurrit. Zoilius D equites ex Graecia adduxerat; III milia ex Illyrico Antipater miserat; Thessali equites C et XXX cum Philippo erant; ex Lydia II milia et sexcenti, peregrinus miles, advenanter, CCC equites gentis eiusdem sequebantur.

Curtius's words *ex Illyrico* seem to mean either 'Illyrian soldiery' or 'soldiers from Illyricum', perhaps troops that had been guarding the frontier at Pelium. If the latter interpretation is correct, then those troops could not have left their post until they were relieved, after the war with Agis, by troops from the campaign around Megalopolis.

Arrian and Curtius are obviously speaking of the same body of troops, the soldiers that came from Antipater to Alexander. Antipater could not have sent those soldiers to Alexander until Agis was subdued.

Persepolis in March, the reinforcements from Antipater would never have been able to overtake him by the middle of July, as Professor Robinson maintains.

A concrete example will illustrate this. When Alexander was at Babylon in November, 331, Amyntas arrived, bringing troops from Antipater. These troops must have been despatched before any warning of the campaign of Agis, which began in the early Summer of 331¹⁰. It took them, then, at least five months to reach Babylon from Macedonia. The contingent which caught up with Alexander at Artacoana could not have left Macedonia^{10a} before late November or December, and a conservative marching schedule would bring them to Alexander not earlier than October of 330. This would fit in very well with the scheme of Hogarth, according to which Alexander left Zadracarta in October¹¹. Professor Robinson's view makes no allowance for these considerations.

(3) "There is not a shred of evidence in Arrian or elsewhere that Alexander spent a winter in Seistan", says Professor Robinson¹². How are we to interpret the sixty days which, Curtius (7.3.3) says, Alexander spent among the Evergetae, a period which Professor Robinson himself¹³ includes in his chronological calculations? If we assume with Hogarth that Alexander left Zadracarta in October, he would have reached the land of the Evergetae in December. December and January would then have been spent in Seistan, and in February Alexander would again have taken the field, as was his custom, in winter, this time to campaign against the hill tribes, which were, in this case, those of the Candahar-Cabul district. That it was still winter Arrian (3.28.1), Curtius (7.3.11), and Diodorus (17.82.1-9) bear convincing witness.

(4) Strabo's words, (15.2.10), *ὑπὸ Πλειάδος δύσιν*, might mean either the morning or the evening setting of the Pleiades. The preposition *ὑπὸ* itself may mean 'about the time of', just as well as 'after the time of'. If we assume that Strabo here means 'about the time' of the *evening* setting of the Pleiades (April), then the theory that Alexander reached the Hindu Kush in March is just as logical as Professor Robinson's view, which makes the time of arrival November.

Arrian's account of the founding of Alexandria at the foot of the Hindu Kush suggests nothing more than a very short pause, perhaps

¹⁰Tarn, 445 (see note 1, above). The troops under Amyntas undoubtedly were despatched from Macedonia, since we know that Antipater was in Macedonia at this time (the early Summer of 331) and had to move into Greece to meet Agis and his Spartans.

^{10a}See note 8a, above.

¹¹Hogarth, 296 (see note 6, above).

¹²Robinson, *Ephemerides*, 76 (see note 7, above).

¹³In The Loeb Classical Library version of Strabo, 7.145 (1930), Professor Horace Leonard Jones translates the phrase by 'at the setting of the Pleiad . . .'. He does not indicate whether he thought of the morning setting or of the evening setting of the Pleiades. C. K. >

¹³Ibidem, 79.

a week or two. Strabo¹⁴ is, in fact, the only author who mentions winter quarters at this point. Since, unless the evidence of Plutarch and Arrian together is disregarded, we can not believe that Alexander arrived here in time for winter quarters, the more practical course seems to be to call into question the authority of Strabo. He was not writing a history of Alexander's expedition, and, when he examined the account of the unknown author who put Alexander's winter quarters in the Koh Daman, he did not have to consider the time element involved.

More satisfactory and more in accord with the five ancient historians of Alexander is the following arrangement, which leaves untouched the accepted date for the death of Darius and agrees better than the scheme of Professor Robinson with the apparent chronological facts: Death of Darius, July, 330; Departure from Zadracarta, October; Arrival of reinforcements from Greece, late October or November; Rest among the Evergetae, December, 330, and January, 329; Campaigns against hill tribes, February; Arrival at the Hindu Kush, March; Crossing of the Hindu Kush, late March or April.

That it was April when Alexander arrived north of the Hindu Kush is implied in Curtius (7.4.26). He speaks of the luxuriant vegetation of part of this country. Alexander, then, was there when the growing season was most impressive (April and May). In June, when the dry season had set in, he left Bactra for the Oxus, and suffered terribly from the drought and intense heat (Curtius 7.5.1-12).

GOWANDA, NEW YORK

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IN THE WEREWOLF TRADITION

Werewolves¹, or their equivalent, have not quite vanished from the earth. In his melodramatic recital to the guests at Trimalchio's dinner party (*Petronius, Satyricon* 61-62) Niceros tells of the soldier (*fortis tanquam Orcus*) whose damaged neck, on the morning after his fiendish escapade, gave tell-tale evidence of his lupine character. A similar disclosure appears in a recent case in Spain, as reported in a brief news despatch from Barcelona (dated December 13, 1934), printed in *The New York Times*, December 23, 1934, under the caption Catalan Villagers Have Woman Arrested as Witch. In part this despatch reads as follows:

Thirty-five residents of the town of Hospitalet, a Barcelona suburb, have signed a complaint before the local judge accusing one of their neighbors of being a witch . . .

¹See 15.2.10.

¹⁴On the subject of werewolves see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22. 83-84, 25.183, 26.97-99, 207-208.

The complaint was lodged after ghostly figures in white and making strange sounds had been reported prowling about in the neighborhood. At some times, it was said, the figure made unintelligible voice sounds and at other times beat a gong. *One woman averred that the figure had invaded her bedroom and that she beat it off by striking it with a broom. The next day the 'witch' was seen to have a bruised arm, she said*².

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A FLOATING ISLAND IN THE NILE

To Professor Sher's discussion of The Vadimonian Lake and Floating Islands of Equatorial Africa (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 27.51-52)¹ may be added a brief passage contained in the Chorographia (or *De Situ Orbis*) of Pomponius Mela, whose work, written probably under the Emperor Claudius, is the earliest extant Latin treatise on geography. After suggesting several theories to explain the annual rise and fall of the Nile (1.52-54)² Mela adds (1.55): *Alia quoque in his terris mira sunt. In quodam lacu Chemmis insula lucos silvasque et Apollinis grande sustinens templum natat, et quocumque venti agunt pellitur*³. It is interesting to note in this connection that Apollo's natal island, Delos, had the reputation in mythology of being similarly unstable⁴.

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

VIII.

The Harvard Theological Review—October, Notes on Torrey's Translation of the Gospels, Ralph Marcus ["The reviewer ventures to believe that the general arguments advanced by Torrey in favor of his theory of the use of written Aramaic and Hebrew throughout the Gospels have been shown to be inconclusive; that the supposed instances of graphic error taken from the illustrations in Torrey's essay and from the first half of Matthew as test-material have been proved erroneous or doubtful; and finally, that of the supposed instances of Semitisms, not necessarily involving the use of written Aramaic sources, but most probably based on oral traditions, only a small number, four out of eighteen, are convincing"].

The Illustrated London News—June 16, Unexampled Designs in Gold Found at Gaza:

²The italics are mine.

¹Compare also THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 27.78, 152.

³Seneca also discusses this topic (*Naturales Quaestiones* 4.2.17-30).

⁴Compare with this Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 3.25.8 (referred to by Professor Sher).

⁵Compare THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 27.78, with the references there cited.

Jewellery of the Days of the Shepherd Kings [six photographic illustrations and an explanatory note contributed by Sir Flinders Petrie. These objects had been found during his fourth campaign at Gaza]; June 23, Roumanian Civilisation of 2500-1800 B.C.: Discoveries That Reveal Phases of South-East European Prehistory, Dinu V. Rosetti [with sixteen photographic illustrations]; July 7, King Solomon's Copper-Mines: Discoveries that Reveal the Source of Copper for Solomon's Temple, Illuminate Biblical Allusions to the Promised Land, Identify the Capital of Edom, and Help to Date the Exodus, Nelson Glueck [with five photographic illustrations]; July 14, The Grandeur That Was Assyria, Henry Frankfort [with seventeen photographic illustrations]; July 21, The Golden House of Nero: Remarkable Discoveries at the Domus Aurea Built by the Notorious Emperor After the Burning of Rome in 64 A.D., Translated from a Description Supplied by Alberto Terenzio [with one architectural diagram and ten photographic illustrations]. "In 1931 the present Soprintendenza, under the direction of Professor Alberto Terenzio, turned its attention to the eastern wing of the Casa Neroniana (the most important one from the architectural point of view), and succeeded in uncovering much of the area"; August 11, Icons in Cyprus: Remarkable Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Paintings Discovered; The Courtailed Institute of Art's Expedition to Study Paintings in Orthodox Churches of the Island, D. Talbot Rice [with thirteen photographic illustrations]; August 25, Measures Against Drought 2600 Years Ago: King Sennacherib's Thirty-mile-long Canal, which Brought Water from the Kurdish Mountains to Nineveh; The Monumental Canal-head, Henry Frankfort [with eight photographic illustrations]. "It should be remembered that the canal has a width of sixty feet along the whole of its course and was paved all along with stone and provided with stone parapets nine feet wide"]; September 1, Roman Fishing Methods Revealed in Mosaics; First or Second Century Mosaics From Leptis Magna Representing Fish and Angling Methods, Including a Landing-net That Anticipated the Latest Modern Type, A. J. Butler [with four photographic illustrations and one line-drawing]. ". . . the forked landing-net was in common use in Egypt on the Nile at that remote epoch, some 5000 years ago. It is therefore an inescapable deduction that the Roman forked landing-net was only a copy or development of the Egyptian instrument, and it is almost certain that the Roman owner of the Villa del Nilo either used a modified form of the Egyptian hand-net such as had

already become customary in the Roman angling world, or himself adapted the traditional Egyptian form to a use corresponding to that of the modern angler's landing-net by adding a short handle below the fork"]; September 15, The New Tell El Amarna Discoveries: Interesting Additions to the Famous "Amarna Letters"; Art Relics; and Records of University Life, Akhenaten's Police System, with its "Flying Squad", and Royal Lion-Hunts, J. D. S. Pendlebury [with one reconstruction drawing, eight photographic illustrations, and one pictorial reconstruction]; September 22, The Tragedy of a Buried City Told By Its Ruins: Siege Works by Which the Persians Captured Dura-Europos in 256 A.D., Enslaving All its People; Dramatic Evidence of the Catastrophe Revealed by Remains of the Besieging Army's Mine and Ramp, Clark Hopkins [with one sketch-map, thirteen photographic illustrations, and three drawings. ". . . The money in the pockets of the soldiers found in the mine was dated from 238 to 256 A.D. Five of the eighty-two coins were of the year 256 A.D.; there was no single coin beyond that date. And of the thousands found on the site, in shops and houses, there is none later than that year. The sap, then, was constructed in the last crisis of the city's history . . . "]; September 29, An Imperial Club and a Roman House Found Below a Church, unsigned [with five photographic illustrations. "An exceptionally interesting discovery has been made during the last few weeks in the great Basilica of St. John Lat-eran, whose underground parts had never before been explored. Two Roman buildings of Imperial Age, erected one above the other, have come to light under the central nave, which is now being provided with a new pavement"]; October 13, A Lost City Found in the Syrian Desert: The Capital of the Ancient Kingdom of Mari Brought to Light; a Temple of about 3000 B.C. with all its Votive Offerings to the Goddess Ishtar, André Parrot [with ten photographic illustrations and one map]; October 27, A Newly Found Masterpiece of Greek Sculpture: The Bronze Statuette of Herakles, Dating from the Early Fifth Century B.C., Lately Discovered in Boeotia; and Other Famous Bronzes for Comparison, H. G. G. Payne [with five photographic illustrations. "The new Herakles . . . has an inscription engraved on the inside of the left leg . . . The chief interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it is written in the Corinthian alphabet . . . although this inscription does not prove the bronze to be Corinthian, it at least creates a probability that it was made at Corinth. If this suggestion is correct, we

can understand why the ancient world set such store on Corinthian work"]; November 10, A "Greek Pompeii": Excavations at Olynthus; A City of Classical Greece—Destroyed by Philip of Macedon in 348 B.C.; The Only Greek City So Far Excavated with its Complete System of Streets and Blocks of Private Houses, extracts from an article by David M. Robinson [with twenty-three photographic illustrations]; November 24, Imperial Art of Trans-Jordan: Terra-cotta Lamps from Jerash, J. H. Iliffe and W. F. Stinespring [with sixteen photographic illustrations. "The lamps range in date from the first half of the second century A.D. (about the time of the Emperor Hadrian, who visited Jerash in 130 A.D., as proved by the dedicatory inscription on the triumphal arch, discovered this year by the American Expedition) to a period late in the third century. Many of them are decorated with reproductions of well-known works of Greek art. The terra-cottas also are very largely copies of famous classical Greek statues, the taste for which Hadrian so effectively revived, as the contents of his villa at Tivoli and other evidence testifies"]; December 8, "A Flood of New Light" on Mithraism: The Temple of Mithra at Dura-Europos, the First Discovered in Syria or Asia Minor; A Sanctuary Founded About 170 A.D., Containing Early Third-Century Frescoes, Clark Hopkins [with ten photographic illustrations. ". . . Our frescoes, however, are probably to be dated very early in the third century, when the sanctuary was restored. From the point of view of the history of art, therefore, they are of primary importance, for they show that the method of representation found in later works was already well established in the Parthian period . . . Its plan and decoration confirm the opinion of M. Cumont that the same cult spread both east and west from Asia Minor"].

Isis—December, Greco-Egyptian Arithmetical Problems: P. Mich. 4966, Frank Eggleston Robbins; Importance of the Greek Algebraical Problems, Louis C. Karpinski; Review, generally favorable, by Hugh Bévenot, of Marcella Rigobon, *Il Teatro e la Latinità di Hrotsvitha*; Review, favorable, by M. C. W., of John Webster Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer, Studies in Virgilian Legends*; Review, summarizing and uncritical, by C. A. Kofoid, of Angelo Celli, *The History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, edited and enlarged by Anna Celli-Fraenzel.

Journal of Biblical Literature—July, Torrey's Aramaic Gospels, James A. Montgomery [this is a long and very favorable appreciation of Charles C. Torrey, *The Four Gospels*,

A New Translation]; The Macellum of Corinth, Henry J. Cadbury [with a photographic illustration of the Macellum Inscription, and a plan entitled "Part of Recently Excavated Area of Old Corinth"]. This article deals with the *μακέλλω* mentioned in I. Corinthians 10.25]; December, The Beatty Papyrus of Revelation and Hoskier's Edition, Henry A. Sanders.

The Journal of Philosophy—July 5, Review, favorable, by R. S., of Werner Jaeger, Aristotle: Fundamentals of the History of his Development, Translated by Richard Robinson; September 13, Review, generally unfavorable, by R. McK., of Leo W. Keeler, The Problem of Error from Plato to Kant; December 6, Review, favorable, by I. E., of Pierre-Maxime Schuhl, Platon et l'Art de son Temps; Review, favorable, by R. S., of Abraham Edel, Aristotle's Theory of the Infinite; December 20, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by R. S., of F. H. Anderson, The Argument of Plato; January 3, Review, uncritical, by R. S., of Pierre Guérin, L'Idée de Justice dans la Conception de l'Univers chez les Premiers Philosophes Grecs de Thalès à Héraclite.

The Journal of Theological Studies—October, Review, favorable, by A. Nairne, of A. E. Taylor, The Laws of Plato; Review, qualifiedly unfavorable, unsigned, of C. E. Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age; Review, very favorable, by A. Souter, of A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Similitudes 2-9), with a Fragment of the Mandates, edited by Campbell Bonner.

The Library—September, Review, favorable, by J. A. H., of The Romance of Alexander: A Collotype Facsimile of MS. Bodley 264, With an Introduction by M. R. James.

The Literary Digest—June 16, Ur of the Chaldees Yields Its Last Relics: Treasures of Ancient Mesopotamian Rulers and Traces of Great Flood Before Sumerian Occupation Found by Joint Expedition ("maintained by the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania"), unsigned [with one photographic illustration]; October 13, Saint Sophia to be Converted Into a Museum, unsigned [with one photographic illustration]. This is a brief note concerning the history of Saint Sophia and notice of the plans to convert it into a museum]; October 20, "Digging Up the Past" Gains on Many Fronts . . . , unsigned [with one photographic illustration]. This article deals with the recent excavations at Khorsabad and the report of Sir Flinders Petrie "in the British scientific journal *Nature* that he had dis-

covered evidence that Egypt had received repeated waves of immigrants from the Caucasus, more than 1000 miles away"]; December 22, New Excavations Yield Trojan Relics: Site Beside the Scamander, of which Homer Wrote, Yields Data on Priam's Troy, Also on its Stone-Age Inhabitants, unsigned [with one photographic illustration]. This brief article mentions some of the results of the third expedition sent by the University of Cincinnati, under the leadership of Dr. Carl W. Blegen, to the site of Troy. "The prize of the season's work was the discovery of nineteen undisturbed cinerary urns and fragments of many broken ones, buried just outside the citadel and attributed to the sixth Troy"].

The London Quarterly and Holborn Review—July, Short review, uncritical, unsigned, of F. Brittain, Latin in Church; Review, favorable, unsigned, of Claudian: The Rape of Proserpine, Translated by R. Martin Pope [the translation is in verse]; October, The Idea of Fate in Ancient Greek Literature, Marie V. Williams.

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CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON- CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

IX

The Saturday Review of Literature—October 27, Review, generally very favorable, by Elmer Davis, of Talbot Mundy, Tros of Samothrace [an historical novel]; December 1, Brief review, mildly favorable, by H. T. C., of Stefan Zweig, Erasmus of Rotterdam; December 22, Brief review, uncritical, by C. P. Rollins, of Gilbert Seldes, Aristophanes' "Lysistrata", Translated, With an Introduction [a limited edition, with illustrations by Picasso]; December 29, The Pedigree of Power: Is There a Parallel between Roman Civilization and Our Own?, Elmer Davis [an extended review, favorable, of G. P. Baker, Twelve Centuries of Rome, and, generally favorable, of Herbert S. Hadley, Rome and the World Today (Third Edition, Revised)].

School and Society—October 6, Review, favorable, by William McAndrew, of E. M. Forster, Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson; November 3, Brief review, uncritical, by William McAndrew, of J. B. Brebner, John Erskine, and Everett D. Martin, Classics of the Western World.

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